UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

Religious Fixations

Part I

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

Items from a Traveler's Note-Book

VIII

By JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

The Ford Hall Forum and Its Founder

By EDWIN D. MEAD

The Nobel Peace Prize

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CIII. MONDAY, APRIL 1, 1929 NUMBER 5

UNITY

Love, if I knew
How to pluck from the mirrors of the dew
The image of the sunrise, rob the tint
Of living blood
From the wild lily and pomegranate bud,
Defraud the halcyon of its purple glint,
The sea-wind of its wing,
The sea-wave of its silver murmuring.

If I could teach
My meaning to be severed from my speech,
Breath from my being, vision from my eyes,
And deftly part
The tremor of my heart-beat from my heart,
Perchance for one vague hour I might devise
Some secret miracle
To be delivered from your poignant spell.

You permeate
With such profound, supreme and intimate
Knowledge, possession, power, my Life's domain!
O are you not
The very text and title of my thought,
The very pattern of my joy and pain?
Shall even Death set free
My soul from such intricate Unity?

—*Sarojini Naidu.*

We are informed that the annual crime bill of the nation is six billions of dollars. Most of this is represented by stolen property. About a billion dollars is devoted to dealing with crime. Fifty percent of the criminals are under twenty-one years of age. Seventy-five percent are under twenty-five. We are also informed that the great majority of these criminals are organized in gangs and "murder mobs." Heading such organizations are "racketeers." Rothstein, slain in New York, was a racketeer who drew his millions of profits from gambling, bootlegging, dope peddling, bond thefts and strike murders. Dion O'Banion of recent Chicago memory, was a racketeer who specialized in rum. The remainder of his "murder mob" was almost wiped out in the Valentine day massacre. It has been disclosed that the murder mobs which support racketeers are composed of youths seeking a thrill and easy money. They might have become decent citizens with the proper environment. Instead, they early came in contact with boy leaders of the neighborhood gangs and graduated naturally into murder mobs. These organizations deal in big figures, with systems of bookkeeping, just like legitimate business. A writer in a recent issue of *The Review of Reviews* laments the neglect and apathy displayed by the public with regard to providing better opportunities for city youth. He tells us that there are at least 319,000 boys in Manhattan; and that it requires no less than $500 to clothe, feed, and house the average boy each year from his birth. And since the average life of a boy is ten years, the total investment of these boys over a period of ten years is $1,595,000,000. And to compare with this sum the assessed valuation of the buildings in Manhattan is $3,470,000,000. He continues, "Manhattan annually appropriates $7,000,000 for its fire department alone. But for the protection of its $1,595,000,000 invested in boys, Manhattan has seventy-one agencies which specialize in the leisure time and care of boys, and which it supports at an expenditure of $769,000 a year. Thus more than nine times as much is spent for the protection of buildings than of boys." The inference is obvious. If wealth, in real estate or bonds is the supreme objective of a civilization, the while its human values languish, then we shall continue to consider human life the cheapest and most useless article on the market of our civilization.

Prohibition comes of age! We have discovered that prohibition will not become a success until it is "sold" to the American people. So along comes Commissioner Doran of the prohibition bureau who announces his plan of a gigantic poster campaign to warn the general public of the evils of the liquor traffic. Fifty thousand dollars for educational purposes was made available by a bill passed by the last congress, and this money will be used to finance the poster campaign. Surely the proposed anti-rum posters should prove most interesting. No doubt there will be slogans if the thing is done in the manner approved by advertising "psychology." One that suggests itself is, "Reach for the Constitution instead of your hip flask." Another, "See your undertaker first." And yet another, "U-ned-da Respect for Law." And still one more, "Not a Tear in a Carload." Fascinating and interesting as these suggestions may be, yet we cannot overlook the fact that this is the day of slogans. And if prohibition, together with the Outlawry of

War are to arrest and win the attention of the American people, they must meet the minds of Americans on the field where they do battle. So long as these great social reforms remain in the musty atmosphere of the dry-as-dust class room, of the sheltered atmosphere of the church, just so long will they be impotent and infertile. Is it not high time that we reverse the biblical phrase about the wisdom of the children of darkness, and prove by our actions that the children of light are wiser than the children of darkness? Say what we will, and rail as we may, we are forced to accept the fact that this is the age of high-powered, high-geared, super-propaganda. Never before did the world possess such a well authenticated, and highly systematized science for the realization of specific ends, good and bad alike, as we have today. Wits are battling with wits in the attempt to out-propagandize each other in this struggle for popular approval. And now that the poster war is on, we express just one prayerful hope, "Please, O Lord, save our beautiful country sides from becoming battle-scarred with more bill boards!"

W. Waldemar W. Argow.

The recent hearing before the Nebraska Legislature on the resolution for the adoption of the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution revealed the fact that the opposition was due to an entire misunderstanding on the part of farmers of the purposes of those who sought the passage of the resolution. Labor in the home and on the farm was thought of by the opponents as helping with house work or doing chores about the farm. They had no idea of the exploitation of childhood in sweat-shop labor carried on in homes. They utterly failed to recognize the significance to childhood of work in the beet fields which demands of children laborious toil for long hours. With no conception of these two forms of labor the opponents of the bill argued against federal officials interfering with them in the bringing up of their children. While there was some discussion of states rights and opposition to centralization of government the real heart of the objection to the federal amendment was this misunderstanding of the purposes of those who asked for the passage of the resolution.

The vigorous criticism of the religion of today as represented by the church to be heard on almost every campus in America cannot be ignored. Modern youth knows a lot more about life than many of their elders are willing to admit. The churches would do well to listen to youth. A short time ago we sat in a conference the purpose of which was to give students an opportunity to say what they thought of the religious message of the churches. The students spoke frankly and earnestly. They called a spade a spade. They said that the preaching that they heard was stupid and meaningless. The discussion was summed up in the words of a young woman who said of the religion of the day, "There is no challenge in it." It is of minor importance whether this criticism is fair or not. The great fact is that it has the unanimous opinion of a considerable group of students who were at least interested enough to attend the conference. If they failed to find a challenge in the preaching that they heard in the churches certainly they are not the ones to be blamed. Such criticism is a challenge to every minister of religion. For religion ought to be presented as the great adventure. It is adventure that challenges youth. Youth is ever ready to take great risks, to sail unknown seas and to face great dangers. Safe moorings in land locked harbors have no meaning for youth.

There is one magazine that ought to be read by every American citizen. We value Unity highly but it is not Unity of which we write. It is *"The Crisis,"* published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, under the able editorship of W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. All of *"The Crisis"* is not pleasant reading. Some of its articles bring the blush of shame to the cheek and arouse a feeling of bitter anger. They are the stories of "man's inhumanity to man which makes countless millions mourn." But the greater part of each number is a record of achievements of all sorts and conditions of people under great odds. There are stories of success in college professions, business, industry, art and science which always give us a real thrill. They renew our faith in man and give us great confidence in the power of human souls to rise above a hostile environment. *"The Crisis"* is more than a magazine. It is a monthly record of the trials, struggles and progress of not only the colored people but also of mankind. For let there be no mistake in this matter. We all rise and fall together. A denial of a right to colored men is a denial of the trust that is in the white man. For the sake of America we should know the story of the colored man's endeavor to obtain, what is his God-given right, an opportunity. When more than twelve millions of our fellow citizens are denied this right—then it is of utmost importance that it should be known to all.

Practically every country in Europe has increased this year its expenditure for armaments. Even Germany has increased its military budget. This is in spite of the fact that competent observers report that the people are sick of war. It is inconceivable that the plain people so short a time after the catastrophe that enveloped Europe in a welter of blood should be eager to be at one another's throat. And yet governments go on as if nothing had been learned from the

past. If any evidence were needed here it is that those who sit in the seats of power do not represent the people. It was governments that cast the peoples into the World War. It was governments not peoples who prepared the bloody shambles. Governments once more prepare the way for another catastrophe. Preparation for war means war. Battleships are not built to be sent on peaceful missions. They are built to fight. The only basis for this increased expenditure is that the other country is spending more money. Thus the so-called leaders of the peoples march in the old time vicious circle. It is the insane program of competitive armaments. "You build one battleship, and we will build two." "If you build two, we will build three"—and so on till something breaks. It is no wonder that plain people question the value of governments.

The fifth volume of the records of the Sacco-Vanzetti case which has just been published by Holt and Company contains an account of the evidence as to Sacco's being in Boston on the afternoon of the murder, April 15, 1920. From these records it is plain that President Lowell of Harvard made a most serious mistake in keeping this fact out of the minutes of the proceedings held before Governor Fuller's Advisory Committee. It appears that Felice Guadgani and Albert Bosco testified before the Committee that they had talked with Sacco on the afternoon of April 15th. They identified the day by the fact that a banquet, to which they had been invited, was given to Mr. Williams, then editor of the Boston *Transcript*. President Lowell insisted, on evidence in the files of the *Transcript* and Mr. Williams' own testimony, that the banquet took place on April 13, that the witnesses were not telling the truth. The next day Gaudagni and Basco appeared before the Committee and presented an account in the April 16th issue of the Italian paper, *La Notigia* of a banquet given Mr. Williams on April 15th. Mr. Williams then admitted his mistake over the telephone, whereupon President Lowell apologized to Guadagni and Bosco for not having believed their story on the day previous. Yet the minutes of the proceedings made no reference to the fact that the alibi had been established for Sacco. The record only showed what appeared to be a deliberate attempt to frame an alibi. Is it any wonder that the ghosts of Sacco and Vanzetti are said to walk on certain nights in Harvard College yard!

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Religious Fixations

PART I

A Psychological Interpretation

The modern school of analytic psychology makes frequent and effective use of the concept "fixation" in describing certain experiences of pathological personalities. Freud* briefly defines this particular phase by saying "let us agree to call this arrest of a partial impulse in an early stage of development, a fixation of the instinct." Any intense emotional upheaval in early life, or any critical thwarting of a strong desire may produce a fixation by stamping the conscious or unconscious self so indelibly that the individual is unable to outgrow the experience.

The patient who suffers from such a psychic disturbance may be rational and well adjusted in all but one phase of his life; but in this single field he is the victim of such a powerful complex of associations that he is unable to free himself from the irrational fear, hope, affection, or whatsoever the particular form of fixation may be. His mind is completely arrested at a certain point. He cannot transfer his thoughts or feelings, or mobilize them toward a progressive goal. It is a form of obsession as difficult to control as a compulsion neurosis which frequently drives a person toward the very act which he may most dread.

But persons do not always *suffer* from fixations, because in a large proportion of the cases they subconsciously rationalize to such a degree that they are able to attain self-approval for their particular obsession.

It is not inevitable that a pathological condition should follow, or that the disturbance should remain permanently acute. As Freud† further says:

> Let us note that the fixation on some particular phase of the past has bearings which extend far beyond the neurosis. Every neurosis contains such a fixation, but every fixation does not lead to a neurosis, nor fall into the same class with neuroses, not even set the conditions for the development of a neurosis. Mourning is a type of emotional fixation on a theory of the past, which also brings with it the most complete alienation from the present and the future. But mourning is sharply distinguished from neuroses that may be designated as pathological forms of mourning.

The dangerous phase lies in the inability of the person to realize that he is in the grip of an abnormal psychic tendency, and therefore he may proceed with the process of rationalization until it becomes an actual fabric of delusion, and the victim builds up an unreal world. From this step it is easy to progress toward paranoia in which the patient escapes from reality and lives in and for the creations of his imagination.

*"General Introduction to Psychoanalysis"—Sigmund Freud, Boni & Liveright. Page 295.

†Op. Cit. Page 238-9.

There are many forms of fixations; as, for instance, those having to do with fear, sex, the relation of parents and children, abnormal affections, attitudes toward vocations, recreations, or locations, and finally, religion.

A few examples of this peculiar psychological phenomenon will serve as illustration of the process and show the harm which may result.

First, let us examine an instance from the relation of parent to child, where the fixation is not at all a rare occurrence. The mother, to cite only one parent, goes through such an intense emotional experience in bringing her son into the world and in guarding him during the early years of his life, that she is unable to make adjustments of mind and heart when her son has grown to maturity. She continues thinking of him and feeling toward him very much as she did toward the small child. She continues watching over him, advising, guiding in the same way in which she directed her child. She assumes a proprietary attitude and exploits his affections, making demands upon time, energy and strength, and if he goes through the normal experiences of romantic love with a young woman, she becomes irrationally jealous, sometimes resorting to extreme measures to keep love fastened upon herself.

The mother of this pathological type is absolutely unable to keep pace with normal personality growth as regards this one experience. Her mental and emotional life are fixed at a stage of arrested development, and she can neither see the pathological character of her attitude nor does she want to change it.

Mutatis mutandis, we may briefly consider the fixation of child upon parent, taking again the son-mother relation although the daughter-father complex is equally illustrative. In this case, the affection of the child for the parent, which is entirely normal in most offspring is of an intense and all-absorbing character;—so much so that it satisfies the psychological craving for the love experience. The son is unable to transform the child love which he feels toward his mother into the normal sexual love of a mature man for a mature woman of approximately his own age. He remains undeveloped, arrested at a puerile stage. No matter how successful or distinguished he may be in other aspects of his life, his love fixation prevents him from going through the normal cycle of husband and father.

While analytical psychology has probably made greater progress in this study within the sphere of sex relations, it has nevertheless done a sufficient amount of research in other fields to show that the same process takes place.

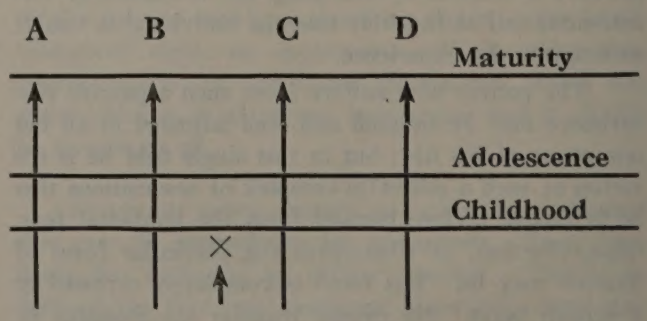
Take, for instance, examples of the fixation of fear which has many manifestations and which is frequently found to be one of the important elements in neurosis or psychosis. Usually in early childhood some object, person, or experience has struck terror into the heart, and no amount of reason entirely eradicates the suffering in after life. Sometimes it is a teacher scolding or beating a sensitive child, so that the pupil is never able to recover. The writer knows a distinguished member of a college faculty who is about forty-five years of age who still occasionally dreams of his former instructor in Greek, and the dream is accompanied with all the old childish fears and terrors which he first felt.

Others fear animals, so that they can never approach a cat, dog, snake, horse or whatever the case may be, without feeling, to the end of their days, the same dread which they suffered in early life. Others have abnormal fixations as the dread of fire, thieves, wrecks and other disasters.

It would be possible to fill volumes with concrete illustrations of persons who have suffered the widest variety of fixations, but a sufficient number have herewith been given to introduce the general subject:—The important points to remember are that they are irrational, they persist sometimes throughout an entire lifetime; and they usually have their origin in early childhood.

The writer believes that it would be possible and profitable to apply the theory of fixations to a study of certain religious phenomena. It is very important, however, in making the comparison, not to press the analogy too far and especially important to remember what Freud says in regard to fixations not necessarily leading to neurosis. Such a psychological analysis might reveal a rich and rewarding knowledge regarding religious behavior in at least two important spheres; namely,—in the personal life, in the history of sectarian churches.

First, regarding the religious experience of certain individuals. This condition could be graphically represented as in the following diagram, where A, B, C, D indicate interests such as education, vocation, recreation, family life; and X indicates religion.



There has been no unusual difficulty for this hypothetical individual in growing through childhood and adolescence to mature conceptions and practices in any of the normal relationships of life except in religion. But in this one case, he or she has not been able to

develop from the early stages of childish experiences to maturity.

It will be recognized by almost any fair critic that this condition exists in many people; in so many, in fact, that it is not a rare phenomenon when all the religions of the world are taken into consideration.

There are probably several reasons why this should be so, but the chief reason lies in the power of the religious emotion.

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

(To be Continued)

Items from a Traveler's Note-Book

VIII

Damascus and Syria

Not in the space of a single generation have Palestine and Syria been swept by such devastating storms as have prevailed during the past week. Beyrout is cut off from all communication with the rest of Syria, and our projected trip to this seacoast town must be abandoned. Heavy snow blocks all the roads—a railroad train from Damascus is lost in the mountains—telephone and telegraph wires are all down. Damascus has had no mail from the west for five days, and none from the south for four days. The train from Tiberias to Damascus was blocked by wash-outs, and its shivering passengers spent the night and most of the next day in the cars. Automobiles have been ditched in every direction, and miserable stories are coming in of nights spent on the wet ground in the chill darkness of Arab huts. Jerusalem is in the midst of a deluge, and tourists are huddling in the hotels shivering with cold and desperate with disappointment.

These were the reports that came to us at Tiberias the morning after we had turned back as narrated in my last letter, and later. This next morning was gloomy enough, and prospects of a change in the weather were like the snakes in Ireland—there were none! After some hesitation, we decided to try for Damascus again. We at least had all the day before us; there was no danger of darkness, and our worst fate would be to turn back again. So we started out!

A fitful gleam of morning sunshine showed us the beauty of the Lake of Galilee, with its shining waters and its sheltering hills. Here was where Jesus walked and talked, and stilled the storm (we knew something about these storms!), and crossed to the opposite shore of the Gadarenes. It was not difficult to imagine Jesus here, especially when we saw some fishers in their heavy fishing boats. In all these years the fishing has been the same—the boats have not been changed by so much as a single nail. As we climbed the hills, away from the lake, the country became desolate again. There were no villages, save the wretched goat-skin tents of Bedouins here and there. There were no people, save an occasional shepherd wrapped close in his enfolding mantle, a lonely Arab road-mender, or a wandering trader with his plodding camels. In a little over an hour we reached the banks of upper Jordan, the border-line between Palestine and Syria, now a flood of raging waters. An hour's delay on both banks with passports and customs released us for the second half of the journey through Syria to Damascus. The incessant rains now began falling again in floods. We bumped and skidded over roads which were more like bogs than highways. But these roads were not impassable. Even where lakes of muddy water in the fields and ditches on both sides had flowed together over the way, we were able to push through, though the flood mounted to our axles. Once at least, where a miniature waterfall was overflowing the road, it looked like ticklish business. But courage, a skilful driver, and abundant good luck carried us through. Before noon, we had reached Damascus, and the skies were blue!

How old this Moslem city is, I doubt if anybody really knows. Located in the middle of one of the great oases of this eastern world, it has for ages been an important caravan station, and the center of the trading for near and distant regions. Through the center of Damascus runs the river which changes the arid sands to pleasant verdure. Climb the hills, and you see the crowded town ringed around by the beautiful gardens of the oasis, and beyond, on every side, the desert. The Arab poet was right when he called it a pearl set in emeralds. Mohammed was stirred by real emotion when he said that it was the dream of Paradise come true.

But Damascus is more beautiful afar than it is close at hand. Its streets are narrow, crowded, and dirty. Its famous bazaars are extensive enough, but rather shabby. Its important buildings and beautiful houses are set in poor quarters or hidden behind high walls, and are wonderful within rather than without. Even its women, undoubtedly lovely, are veiled, and invariably clad in gloomy black. If anything is perfect, as a fulfilment of expectations, it is the minarets, which rise with infinite grace above the many mosques. Especially are these beautiful when they ring with the voices of the muezzins in their calls to prayer. On every tower is that lordly figure, chanting in his clear, musical, far-sounding voice. Echoes come from all directions, till the sky seems vocal with solemn melody. We heard these muezzins elsewhere, but never as in Damascus.

What chiefly interested me in this city was not the old but new, not eastern but western. The Great Mosque, to be sure, was a majestic spectacle, and its worshippers, bowing and praying upon the rugs, a thing to move the heart. The tomb of Saladin was impressive even to a pacifist, for this immortal Saracen was a chivalric conqueror, and made war to be something other than mere horror. The Palais, a specimen home of a rich and lordly Arab, with its noble marbles, its gorgeous ceilings, its courts and colonnades, was a rich monument of this eastern civilization. The narrow, winding streets, crowded with traders, blocked by camels and asses, crammed with stores of curious and varied wares—these could be threaded for hours without loss of interest. I especially liked the wine-shops with their lounging merchants, the restaurants with their curious food, the warm braziers on the side-

walks with their crouching groups of shivering Arabs, and the old, old men hidden away in corners, silent, motionless, imperturbable, with a dignity like that of the pillars of a ruined temple.

None the less, it was other sights in Damascus that chiefly attracted and held my attention. First, the soldiers—the French soldiers of the occupation! They were everywhere—a few of them white men, most of them the black Senegalese with white officers. We saw them on post, in marching squads, or lounging about the shops and cafés. Syria is no different from Palestine, so far as government is concerned. Both are under the mandate of the League of Nations, Syria assigned to France and Palestine to Britain. But there are no soldiers visible in Palestine—only the police patrols that guard the countryside—whereas Syria swarms with soldiers. Which marks the difference between the Englishman and the Frenchman as a ruler of subject peoples! The former can rule with a minimum of force, even in a country like India, or Palestine, where conditions are enormously complicated and difficult. The latter, *per contra,* cannot do a thing without an army. The Syrian problem is simple, yet France has made a mess of it, and now must have a soldier on every street-corner. And not only soldiers, but arms! In a great open space in the center of Damascus, behind a network of barbed-wire entanglements, was the largest array of army tanks that I have ever seen—dozens of them, with their frowning machine guns, all ready to butcher the population at a moment's notice. I was in Damascus twenty-four hours, and I got so sick of the French uniform that I could have cried out aloud in disgust and protest.

The second thing that impressed me was the mute evidence on every side of what these soldiers can do when they are loosed. Three years ago there was a rebellion in this ancient city, which was old before France was new, and all about are the ruins left by the bombardment which the French army directed against the inhabitants. Block after block, for miles, lies a mass of shattered stone. Lordly public buildings are mingled with wretched hovels in one vast pile of wreckage. The Damascans have disdained to rebuild what their French masters have destroyed, and might in such case so easily destroy again. They have simply abandoned these ruined streets to rain and dust and vermin, that all may see how Christians love their fellow-men. And I am glad of it, for such crimes should not be hidden, or forgotten. I walked those streets in mingled sorrow and anger. And I thought, as I walked, of the day in 1922 when I walked the streets of Rheims, and saw what a German bombardment had done to that old town. Think how the French government yelped when the houses of Rheims came tumbling down! And here this same government has done this same thing to the houses of Damascus. Bah! —The hypocrisy of war! Our shameless horror at our enemy for doing to us precisely the thing we do to him whenever we get the chance! The atrocities of war are the same everywhere, and are perpetrated in the same way by everybody. And the reason is simple. War is itself the great atrocity!

I felt, when I had seen Damascus, that I understood for the first time the sham of the League of Nations. This town was bombarded, and its people slaughtered, by France, the mandatory agent of the League in Syria. Why did not the League protest against this betrayal by its agent of those very principles of justice and ideals of peace which it was established to defend? For the obvious reason that the agent is itself a director of the League! France, the violator of Syria, is a member of the Genevan Council which is supposed to control these things. With France sits England, Japan, Italy, and other mandatory and imperialistic powers. These associate nations, of course, cannot interfere with such enormities as these perpetrated in Damascus. For what France did in Syria yesterday, England may want to do in Mesopotamia tomorrow, or Japan in Manchuria the day after. One thief never interferes with a theft by his comrade in crime! The whole trouble with the League is that the nations in control are the very nations whose interest and purpose it is to secure their own power and advance their own interests by any means that may be necessary—war, always, in the last resort! Mute and ugly stand the ruins of Damascus, guarded by the very soldiery which destroyed them, as evidence to all the world of this appalling fact.

And America has her responsibility for this! I was reminded of this fact when I spoke at the morning assembly of a boys' preparatory school in Damascus. Here before me were some seventy or eighty boys, representing all the varied religions and races which make up the polyglot population of this ancient Syrian town. I spoke among other things of the unhappy divisions of the world, of the aggravations of frontiers and custom-houses, and how in America we had forty-eight states which were politically separate and yet united in confidence and mutual cooperation. When I had finished, and the boys were dismissed, there came the quick retort from a teacher—"Who divided us Syrians from the rest of our brethren in the East? Who handed us over to the guns and bayonets of France? Was not this the work of Versailles, and did not America have her hand in that pie?" I had no answer, save the mute confession that once again the East had been betrayed by the West.

It was late when I went to my hotel room in Damascus. The window, overhanging the narrow, stony street below, was partly open. I heard the loud voices of occasional passersby, speaking in strange tongues. Now and then there rattled the clatter of an ass's hoofs. From the opposite corner came the laughter of a group of soldiers. And always from somewhere, or was it everywhere, there sounded the singing of a thin, high, quavering voice. Beneath it and around it were some twanging strings—a weird jangling of dissonant chords. And still the voice sang —now a low complaint, now a cry mounting and still mounting, now a monotone of minor melody moving on and on as though it were to sound forever. I listened in the darkness to that ceaseless voice. Was it a beggar, chanting on some corner for an alms? Was it some café singer, amusing the idlers as they lounged and chatted over their wine? Or was it some lonely musician, telling the sorrows of his heart? The stars were quiet, and the winds were still. Suddenly it seemed as though the city fell to silence and deep sleep, for I heard no sounds about me. But always there came that wailing, crying voice, and always the rustling of those mystic strings. Surely, this was no human tongue! It was the spirit of the East, and the soul

of all its myriad peoples, calling through darkness to its ancient gods that it be forgotten not forever. And lo, as I listened, there came over me a sudden shame. I shivered in the chilling night, and closed my window, and lost the haunting voice from the distant street. But it sounded within my heart till the muezzins called the faithful to their morning prayers—"Rachel crying for her children, and would not be comforted."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Damascus, Syria.

The Nobel Peace Prize

It will not be long before the "Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament" will award the Peace Prize. Alfred Bernard Nobel was an idealist who invented dynamite. It is said that he believed his invention would promote universal peace because it would make war too terrible for mankind even to contemplate. He died in 1806, so that he was saved from complete disillusionment. He left his large fortune in trust for five prizes to be awarded annually for eminence in physics, chemistry, literature (with the stipulation that it must be "idealistic"), and—should dynamite fail to exercise the whole benevolent influence he seems to have anticipated—the fifth prize was to encourage promoters of peace, and was to be awarded for eminence in the work of advancing international concord. Last year the Nobel Committee could not think of anyone who had been particularly eminent in this respect. In the previous year the prize had been divided between Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, and Dr. Stresemann, the three Foreign Ministers chiefly responsible for the birth of the Locarno Protocol, which had been conceived by Lord D'Abernon, the British Ambassador in Berlin. Who will receive the Nobel Peace Prize this year? Several suggestions are being discussed and various nominations have been forwarded to the Committee. This time the Committee can surely not be at a loss, as it was last year, for there is one who would seem to be a recipient filling above all others the needful condition —Mr. Levinson, a citizen of Chicago, the author of what is now world-famous as the "Outlawry of War."

His achievement is what the Americans would call a "one-man achievement" that has crowned a "one-man campaign." In this respect it differs from the League Covenant and from the Locarno Protocol, although it is no less important than either of these great instruments. The idea is one of extreme simplicity. While the Great War was still raging Mr. Levinson, who had two sons at the front, speculated as to how war could be abolished. He perceived the vicious principle inherent in the conception of "war to end war"—a principle not perceived by many who were more sophisticated and pretentious than he. A "league to enforce peace," he reflected, would be only another form of "war to end war." It occurred to him that wars were perfectly legal. A nation need only go through the formality of declaring war and it can invade its neighbor's territory and spread death and destruction without breaking any laws. War, therefore, to be abolished, must first be made illegal. It is more than ten years ago that Mr. Levinson outlined his plan in the "New Republic." He is the author not only of the idea but also of the word. The term "Outlawry" is just the right one—it was a piece of profound and shrewd insight to clothe the idea in a term so precise and yet so picturesque. It was a term that would "catch" and yet not mislead. Mr. Levinson saw the danger inherent in the League Covenant. "Sanctions" are sinister instruments. The Covenant allows them, but it does not absolutely insist on them—which is, indeed, the salvation of the Covenant, making it something better than a treaty for ending war by war. The tendency of British foreign policy has been to understress the sanctions clauses of the Covenant—a very excellent tendency, and one that implies a leaning towards a conception of world peace analogous to "Outlawry." The anti-British, anti-American, and, indeed, anti-pacific tendency to overstress the sanctions clauses of the Covenant culminated in the Geneva Protocol, which, had it been accepted, would have forbidden private wars and have allowed only world wars—a nightmarish plan that was, fortunately, rejected by the British Government. Had it been accepted it would have been smashed by the first challenge from America. The mixed principles of the Covenant are half-way between the principle of the Geneva Protocol and the principle of Outlawry. Outlawry and the Covenant need not conflict in practice. On the contrary, they can supplement each other while, little by little, the Covenant comes to be conceived in a sense that would, as the pacification of the world progresses, adapt it to Outlawry. The Covenant is a compromise, a necessary and very admirable compromise, but Outlawry is no compromise, it cannot change; it is the fundamental, immutable principle on which the world's peace can alone endure. Indeed, the pacification of the world is nothing more than the convergence of all rational peace movements upon Outlawry.

About ten years ago Mr. Levinson formed a committee which he financed himself. He went from town to town speaking and writing articles. He conducted his own campaign. He converted Senator Knox and so won his first powerful ally, who carried his idea into the American Senate. His second great ally was Senator Borah, who in 1923 submitted to Congress the original resolution to "outlaw war." Mr. Levinson came to Europe in 1927 and "buttonholed" Foreign Ministers and other exalted persons in Geneva, Berlin, Paris, and London. M. Briand had made a proposal to ban war between the United States and France for ever, but the French were not enthusiastic about its extension to other Powers. Nevertheless Mr. Levinson, to his own surprise, got a very sympathetic hearing at the Quai d'Orsay. His reception in London was more frigid. He was informed that "the idea of doing away with war was all bunkum." But the doubts of the British Foreign Office were probably more honest than the uncritical enthusiasm of other bodies (the

word "Outlawry" had by this time begun to "catch on"). In any case the Governments of the Great Powers were won over, and they found in Outlawry a common platform. A pact was signed at Paris on August 27 last year. There is some confusion about its name. It is called the "Kellogg Pact" (but the idea is not Mr. Kellogg's) or the "Paris Pact" (but there are other Paris pacts)—it should be called the Peace Pact, for it is the only Peace Pact. A new conception of international law has been born and, what is more, the Old and the New World have, for the first time in history, been brought together in one common mission. The mere existence of the Peace Pact is not, of course, enough. A law or a legal conception is nothing unless it is respected. But a beginning has been made, a new mental attitude has come into existence, and the confused peace movements of the world have now acquired a single direction. If war is doomed, then August 27, 1927, is the day on which its doom was spoken. Truly a prodigious "one-man achievement," and if the Nobel Prize is awarded to Mr. Levinson it will surely never have had a worthier recipient.—*From the Manchester Guardian of March 9, 1929.*

The Ford Hall Forum and Its Founder

The Ford Hall Forum, which under the inspiration and management of George W. Coleman has for twenty years been a notable and beneficent Boston institution, opened its session for the season some months ago. The inauguration of this season's work was awaited with unusual interest on account of the revolution concerning its support last spring, as it was felt that its fortune this year might determine its future. It is cheering to know that it has never had so successful a season. On the first evening, more persons had to be turned away from the doors than could find place in the hall; and the great audiences have continued. The Forum has more and more attracted the attention of the American churches and people. It has won that sincerest form of admiration, imitation. Over 500 similar forums have been established in the country in the last few years, largely associated with churches, recognizing the Ford Hall Forum as their inspiration and model, and now organized in a national Forum Association, of which Mr. Coleman is the head. It is one of the most remarkable movements of the time in promoting the public discussion of our urgent social problems in a serious spirit and a religious atmosphere.

The reorganization of the Forum on an independent basis, following the withdrawal of its financial support by the Boston Baptist Social Union from the Ford bequest, commands the interest of the religious press and public of the whole country. The final controversy between the Ford Hall Forum management and the Baptist Social Union culminated in decisive action only a few months ago; but the bold and radical policy of Mr. Coleman has for the whole twenty years encountered opposition from a strong minority in the Union, as well as muttering criticism from "orthodox" and timorous sections of the public. During Mr. Coleman's absence on his tour around the world last winter, the leader of the opposition in the Union itself formulated the antagonism in the declaration that the Forum had not properly supported evangelical work, that there had not been sufficient scriptural reading and prayer at the meetings, that the Forum had not won legacies for the Baptist Social Union, and that altogether it had no distinct Christian program. In rejoinder to public criticism following the final severance of responsible relations, the spokesman of the Union frankly and fully stated the reasons for their action (Boston *Herald,* May 31); and as the whole affair involves principles of far-reaching moment for the American churches, it should now be frankly and fully reviewed.

The Union's spokesman asked that the issue be dissociated from any general considerations of the right of free speech or of Baptist denominational policy. With the Union, he claims, it was solely the question whether the Ford Hall work was of a character contemplated by the terms of Mr. Ford's bequest for social activities under the Union's auspices.

What Mr. Ford said in his bequest of $350,000 to the Baptist Social Union for the uplift of the unchurched working class was this:

> It is my desire and hope that these gifts and the far-reaching responsibilities they involve may stimulate the religious interest of its members in the welfare of those who are dependent on the returns from their daily toil for their livelihood and in promoting such welfare through distinctly Christian agencies. It is my hope that in this trust there will be found an open field for the fullest exhibition of its principles by the active, successful business men of the Social Union.

Mr. Ford had long been deeply disturbed by the religious indifference of great bodies of working men and by the failure of business leaders and of the churches to gain their confidence and promote mutual understanding, a failure which to his mind "forebodes serious peril." He believed that "Christianity is the only influence that can change or modify" these evils; and he enjoined the personal interest of the members of the Union in the working men and in "sympathetic intercourse, in friendly association, and in helpful acts, and through all and above all in seeking to bring them to accept Christ and Christ's teachings as the guide of their life."

Nothing is clearer than that the "open field" which Mr. Ford commended and the thing he had in view as a bridge between the Church and the working men was a distinct new departure, a radically improved practical approach. He certainly believed, for he was a devout Christian, that in Christ's teachings and Christ's spirit lay the true solution; but that he interpreted this in any narrow or ecclesiastical spirit is an inference repugnant to the purport of the terms of his bequest and to the testimony of those who knew him as to his sympathetic and adventurous practical mind. He was commending and entrusting to his friends a brave new Christian venture.

The venture decided on has proceeded for twenty years, with great and ever-growing success, in a spirit, a wisdom, a harmony and affection in administration almost unexampled in such enterprises, making a momentous contribution to the solution of the particular problem that weighed on Mr. Ford's mind. None see this more clearly than the bolder spirits in the Baptist Social Union itself, who are individually among the

most ardent supporters of the work. But the greater the success of the work, the greater the misgiving of the body in the Union which has now become the majority, and which after the twenty years, yielding to the volume of opposition, decreed that the Ford Hall work is not "Christian work" or a "Christian agency" or in accord with Christ's teachings as Mr. Ford viewed these. "The courts and students of the law" strictly construing the words of Mr. Ford's will would, they opine, thus conclude.

There are two kinds of lawyers, great and small. The difference was well defined by Justice Holmes of the Supreme Court, speaking in Boston on a great legal occasion, very close as it happened to Ford Hall. The great lawyer, said Justice Holmes substantially, knows that the law is not a body of static and lifeless formulas, but a vital and ever developing organism. The great lawyer is he who divines the true direction of development and interprets and administers the law with the bias which the true vision of the future inspires and commands. How would Justice Holmes or Justice Brandeis or Justice Stone deal with the law involved in the Ford Hall issue?

Legal niceties aside, New England, like the rest of the world, in Andover cases and others, has seen the mischief of too much looking backward and giving the benefit of the doubt to anchorage and brakes. If Mr. Ford's purpose is capable of two interpretations, why not assume that he, like other open-minded men, was on the march, and to be treated with some reverential regard for the direction in which he was moving? Of all men, he was the last to have his spirit and purpose condemned to immobility, let alone reaction, when all his mind was forward-looking and his trusted associates have been steadily moving forward in accordance with the spirit of the age to which he was so sensitive. Why, when his commission was so generous and free, nail him in his tracks, or even push him backward, treating him as an eternally dead man instead of a live one? The Baptist Social Union is not a legal body, nor an academy for fine definition, but a religious group supposedly concerned with the welfare of men, in the spirit of Christian liberty and not "as the scribes"; in the spirit too of Daniel Sharp Ford, who in calling them to an "open field" was giving them wide discretion and summoning them to an unconventional enterprise, not governed by the letter which killeth, but by the spirit which giveth life.

The letter itself condemns their course. Mr. Ford was not the kind of Christian they claim or that they press his words to represent. The evidence on this point is abundant. Most people who assume that Mr. Ford would disapprove of the Ford Hall Forum never knew Mr. Ford at all and seldom, if ever, come to the Forum. Rev. Robert G. Seymour, who was Mr. Ford's pastor for fourteen years, wrote after the Ford Hall work was well established, rejoicing in the great meetings and in Mr. Coleman's "inspired leadership":

> I was in closest relationship with Mr. Ford in his work of benevolence. I knew his mind and heart. While he was a Baptist and worked in closest sympathy with the denomination, he had the broadest sympathies with those of any faith who were striving to better humanity. He had an intense longing to reach those who did not come into sympathy with the Christian church. One object he had for making a home for the Social Union was that there might be a place where our best and most thoughtful laymen might meet men as men irrespective of church relations and show them Christianity in practical, everyday life. I think the Ford Hall work is carrying out his idea, and it has my most hearty benediction.

Mr. Arthur B. Hitchcock, then the manager of the Boston office of the Curtis Publishing Company, who knew Mr. Ford well, wrote at the same time:

> Mr. Ford has said to me that such a building and work as was paramount in his mind might not have any minister and be unlike the usual church in form and government. His idea was to reach the masses of all nationalities and all creeds, the most of whom go to no church at all and can not be persuaded inside a church, and to attract them on their own ground of thought and their needs. He would have had us go right down into the midst of these folks and establish a permanent home for both discussion and practical help. This was Mr. Ford's hope and what I believe the religious people will wake up to.

Miss Anderson, long the superintendent of the New England Baptist Hospital, a trusted confidant of Mr. Ford, wrote: "I know how the meetings at Ford Hall would have pleased him." In 1924, not long before her death, Miss Anderson again wrote to Mr. Coleman:

> I rejoice in your Forum work, and cannot help wondering how miraculous that you, who scarcely knew Mr. Ford, should be carrying on in just the way I am sure he would have approved.

Mr. J. L. Harbour, long associated with the Youth's Companion and for many years treasurer of the Ruggles St. Church, which was mainly supported by Mr. Ford, wrote:

> It seems to me that those who feel that Mr. Ford would not have approved the meetings could not have come into any close personal contact with the man, and have no idea of the generosity of his nature and the broadness of his view.

Benjamin M. Upham, a man close to Mr. Ford, a member of the Ford Hall committee, says:

> My observations assure me that we are reaching just the class mentioned in Mr. Ford's will. A life-long personal acquaintance with Mr. Ford gave me exceptional opportunities to know somewhat of his plans and desires for the benefit of humanity. The welfare of working men and their families was to him a tender and a vital question of Christian ethics. It is my strong conviction that the Ford Hall meetings will prove a potent influence for good, and enable us finally to enter on the realization of Mr. Ford's hopes and prayers.

Mr. James T. Roverts, who during Mr. Ford's last years was active in the work of Ruggles Street, where Dr. Burr, the popular pastor, was preaching under Mr. Ford's sponsorship a gospel of "Social Salvation," much like that of Ford Hall later, has just declared his belief that Mr. Ford, as a wise master-builder, would today recognize the superiority of the Ford Hall method for his special purpose of attracting and influencing the working men. Here he says is the "open field" today. President Faunce, the Leading Baptist in New England today, has pronounced the Ford Hall Forum "one of the most successful attempts of the time to educate the people."

No sensible man, it seems to me can with such testimony mistake Mr. Ford's spirit and purpose; and it is in the light of these that his words should have been treated. They were not so treated; but probably the Ford Hall Forum itself will not be the worse for it. Mr. Ford's generosity has carried the work successfully through its hard experimental period, and his memory will ever be fragrant to all who knew his spirit and purpose; and with success achieved and future assured, it is probably better for the work that it should be free from even quasi-denominational connections. Had the strict and narrow construction now adopted by the Baptist Union been adopted at an earlier stage so early as to kill the experiment, an irreparable wrong would have been done to Mr. Ford

and a grave wrong to Christianity. The primary concern here is not with the future of Ford Hall, which is doubtless secure, as the controversy has brought to the Forum a multitude of powerful new friends and great new prestige. It is with the Christian churches and their capacity to discern what is substance and what is accident in Christianity and what is the legitimate and necessary range of "Christian work" in dealing with the varied and pressing social problems of the new time. This is why this somewhat sensational collision should not be allowed to lapse into forgetfulness until its lessons have been learned.

The officials of the Baptist Union did not deal merely in generalities to justify their doubt as to "whether there is anything in the meetings of the Ford Hall Forum calculated or intended to influence anybody to accept Christ's teachings." They gave a bill of particulars; and their particulars are more illuminating than their generalities. 1. Mr. Coleman had employed and paid as an assistant in the Forum office a Jew, "a man who makes no profession to being a Christian." 2. A body of regular attendants and helpers at the meetings, a hundred or more had been organized, who pay supporting membership dues, have been organized as "Ford Hall Folks," and given special seats, thus in a measure, it is alleged, transforming the gatherings into meetings of "a non-religious organization."

Concerning the last of the two particulars, it need only be said that a great majority of "Ford Hall Folks" are members of Christian churches, young people anxious to help in what they at least feel to be a beneficent and imperative Christian work, and that the majority of attendants at the meetings are church attendants. It may be added respectfully that there are still many Christian churches of indefectible orthodoxy in Boston whose members pay for their pews, to which floaters are not escorted until the certified saints are comfortably seated. There are few churches in Boston, in fact, where there are so few "reserved seats" as at Ford Hall if, indeed, there are any there. Only against Ford Hall has the railing accusation been brought, so far as my knowledge goes, that reserved seats and regular payments by members are marks of a "non-religious organization." If the novel impeachment means a new standard and a new church policy in Boston, it would cheer the heart of Charles F. Dole, who made a valiant and losing crusade for that principle.

Concerning the first of the two strictures it may be said that Mr. David Niles, the Jewish assistant so pointedly objected to, is one of the noblest young social workers in Boston, a man whose energy and practical efficiency are surpassed only by his broad and tolerant spirit and religious devotion, loved and admired by Mr. Coleman himself and by every Christian connected with the Ford Hall work, a man evidently of the same sort as the young Jew in the Gospel dialogue whom we read "Jesus loved," and whom it did not occur to him to urge to leave the Synagogue.

It would be a great mistake to view the unfortunate outcome of the Ford Hall collision as an illustration of Baptist narrowness or intolerance, or as having much to do with Baptists as such at all. There is probably no orthodox body in the country which would have dealt with the situation in a broader or better way. All alike have their "fundamentalists" and their "modernists." The Baptist Social Union was long about equally divided: and no man has more stoutly deprecated than Mr. Coleman himself any intemperate criticism of the Union. The noteworthy thing is that its liberal members were able to secure the support of so bold and progressive an experiment so long. Their own devotion to the work will not flag; and they peculiarly are to be congratulated, and honored for their part in the noble enterprise. They successfully withstood the chronic opposition of the conservatives for twenty years; but when the orthodox were reinforced by the "patrioteers," jealousy of Ford Hall's growing prominence in the peace cause the combination was too much for them. Today the proper people are much more disturbed by political and social heresies than by religious heresies.

The old saying that an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man has seldom been more strikingly verified than in the Ford Hall Forum. George W. Coleman, who was its founder, has been its continuous inspirer and director; and his unique power as a program maker and presiding officer, with his catholicity, unfailing tact and courtesy, and all-pervasive love of men and God are the secret of its remarkable success and influence.

I am glad that in writing of the Ford Hall Forum I do it with complete knowledge of the history, spirit and purpose of the movement from the beginning. When Mr. Coleman left the office of the New England magazine, he joined the staff of Francis Clark's helpers in the great Christian Endeavor movement with millions of members, becoming, I think, the manager of the Society's journal. I can think of no better school for making a man an effective Christian than a long association with Francis Clark. Since Saint Francis of Assisi there surely has been no better Christian than our New England Saint Francis.

Coleman's executive work in the organization of the great national conventions of the Christian Endeavor Society and the National Education Association were striking manifestations of his practical executive ability. He rendered conspicuous service in the Boston Common Council; and in his business life he displayed such conspicuous ability that when a few years ago Roger Babson wanted a president for his great Institute at Wellesley for training business managers, he called Coleman to the post. It was push and executive power as well as religion that Coleman brought to the Ford Hall movement.

It was thought well that at the memorial meeting in Boston in Mr. Ford's honor after his death I should speak about him as a good citizen. I was glad to do it; for Daniel Ford was a good citizen, and I knew of the many impressive ways in which he had shown it. He, too, was not a punctilious or very ecclesiastical Christian. He had much of the simplicity and commonsense that was in Christ; and when he gave that great sum to build Ford Hall and endow the Baptist Union to promote social and religious work for working men, it was with the hope that that simplicity and commonsense would be exemplified. He believed in the plain people; that was why he put so much money into Ruggles Street Church. He believed that the working people were not having a fair deal, and that the Christian Church was not doing its duty in trying to understand their minds and their conditions and dealing with them in brotherly fashion. I

speak advisedly; for my knowledge at that time and my associations and inquiries then satisfied me on that point. I know that the testimonials which I have here quoted from his close friends and associates are true; and I know that the interpretation which the men who have gained control of the Baptist Social Union now seek to press into his words, after the wonderful success and beneficent influence of the Ford Hall Forum for twenty years is false.

If Mr. Ford could have scraped Boston with a fine-tooth comb to find a man fitted for the robust and sympathetic work which is being carried on at Ford Hall, he could not have found a better man or one who more truly expresses his spirit, than Mr. Coleman.

Mr. Ford was a Baptist; so is Mr. Coleman. Neither of them has cared over much about the Baptist part of it, but very much about the Christian part of it. But Baptists they have been; and that is mightily for them when the talk is of freedom and tolerance. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the greatest Baptist preacher in America, in beginning two or three years ago his ministry at the great Fourth Avenue Baptist Church, a brave venture for a broader fellowship and liberal religion, said in his opening sermon:

> We are fulfilling in our plans the best tradition of the religious movement to which this church belongs. The genius of our denomination has been its insistance on the competency and freedom of the individual soul in matters of religion. That emphasis upon individual freedom has been our best contribution to Christian history; and the great men whom our movement claims would bless us, I am sure, for the fulfillment in a day that needs it of the liberty for which they lived and died.

Freedom and tolerance have been cardinal Baptist doctrines.

The Ford Hall platform has met the working man and the unchurched, the foreigner and the unprivileged man, often with too much reason to distrust the church and dread its dialect, on their own ground. It has presented discussions of the burning questions which really concern them by the ablest speakers on both sides, in a spirit of the utmost fairness, with full opportunity for questions and answers, with prayer and hymns and fitting readings giving to all the serious and religious atmosphere. The portrait of Mr. Ford, which hangs above the platform, surely looks down upon the scene with benediction. Never was platform which is brave and radical so free from "cranks," for no man has a keener sense of the proprieties and of decorum than Mr. Coleman; and while every sane radical, sane conservative and sane cause is given full rope every man must speak to the point, and every meeting is guided skilfully and firmly to constructive ends.

The catholicity of the control appears from the fact that the list of speakers in the years includes Bishop Laurence, President Faunce, Rev. George A. Gordon, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Oswald Garrison Villard, Rev. J. C. Corrigan, S. J. Rabbi Wise, Miss Wadley, Edward A. Filene, Margaret Slattery and John Spargo. On the present board of directors, Jew, Catholic and Protestant hold co-ordinate place.

Two or three years ago on Armistice Day we nearly had a riot in Boston. The Peace people held that Armistice meant peace, and they would celebrate the day by a peace parade. The Legion, whose speeches on each Armistice Day are about preparedness for war, frowned on the peace parade and tried to make the governor refuse to review it. The Governor reviewed it. Then they tried to break up the peace meeting on the Common. A hundred hoodlums in khaki massed themselves about the band-stand to terrorize the meeting. But the chairman happened to be George W. Coleman. He rose and said simply and firmly: "When the young gentlemen will take their seats, we will begin"; and they were perhaps so dumbfounded at being counted gentlemen, that they subsided sufficiently to let the meeting go on.

It is trifling to insinuate that the Ford Hall controversy turned on mere matters of religious definition. It was an episode in the whole great matter of freedom of thought and speech in this country, and compels clearer and braver thought as to what is "respectable" in our religious and political life. I once heard Phillips Brooks say in the pulpit of Trinity Church, "Jesus Christ was not *respectable*. The respectable people of Jerusalem, the heads of the first families, doubtless said to the boys at breakfast: 'keep away from that man and his followers; he is turning things upside down; none of the priests and elders take any stock in him; and he will come to no good end.'" It looked that Friday night as if they were right. Wait a year; wait a century; wait a millennium.

Samuel Adams, the great man of the Boston town meeting, said three or four years before Lexington, in rejoinder to the British injunctions to subservience:

> At a legal meeting of the town of Boston a noble freedom of speech is ever expected and maintained; it is an assembly where men think as they please and speak as they think.

Jefferson, in his inaugural address, said:

> If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change the republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.

We thank Ford Hall for emphasizing this great principle anew in a time when strong emphasis is needed. It has said a loud amen to Samuel Adams and Thomas Jefferson. It has done more. It has kindled anew the spirit of the Hebrew prophets and John Calvin and our old Puritan preachers, at a time when timid Christians join reactional politicians in decrying "preaching politics." It would not have done to rebuke prophet Samuel or prophet Jeremiah for preaching politics; it would not have done to rebuke John Cotton and Jonathan Mayhew for it. Almost the whole of Hebrew prophecy is in the high sense politics. We have made their politics our religion. It is time that we made our own that for a season. It is time for us to take to heart that Jesus was in earnest when he crusaded for the kingdom of God not in heaven merely but *on earth*. It was in this spirit that the Fathers followed him in the crusades at Jerusalem, in Geneva, and in Boston. "Christian work" does not consist alone in prayer and song and exhortation, but in helping privileged and unprivileged men, enlightened and unenlightened men to get together, speaking the truth in love upon the urgent questions that embitter and perplex and press for answer, to the end of understanding, fellowship and hope. This, or nothing is "Christian work" today, perhaps most urgent of all Christian work; and the churches that do not know it, the Christians that do not know it, are not in the judgment of multiplying millions "doing the will," cannot rightly "know the doctrine," and do not commend the future.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

The Study Table

"China's Millions"

Among the new books on China, one which would naturally attract the attention of readers of UNITY is Anna Louise Strong's "China's Millions." Much of the material of the book has already appeared in these pages, enough at any rate to encourage many to read the whole story.

The first part of the book deals with Miss Strong's experiences in Central China in the heart of the Nationalist camp during the stirring days of the spring of 1927, when the party that was later to control the entire country was making its determined northward advance. Single-mindedly in sympathy with "The Revolution" the author gives a vivid picture of scenes and people of the time and the party. Not all of the story is her own, however, for she fills many pages with individual case records, sometimes obtained from the principals themselves and often from second or third-hand sources. So there is much hearsay material, on the basis of which she occasionally generalizes more broadly than her evidence warrants. Her narrative is good as long as it is objective, but when it comes to interpretation she demonstrates the rather narrow limits of both her knowledge and her viewpoint. Still, she is perfectly right in her realization that in China the farmer is the backbone of the nation, and the last paragraph of the first half of her book deserves quotation, though personal knowledge of some of the intellectuals, many of whom have been forced into politics by the national necessities of the hour, leads us to expect rather more from them than does the author. She writes:

> From the actions of these peasants and workers, even under revolution, one gains a realization of the essential orderliness and power of organization that lies in China. It will be such peasants and workers, and neither the northern nor southern generals, nor the wealthy but subservient bourgeoisie of Shanghai, nor the timid intellectual politicians and officials, who will have courage to carry their country out of the Middle Ages into the modern world.

The second part of the book is concerned with the narrative of an exciting trip through China's northwest across Mongolia into Siberia; an interesting tale of travel.

In spite of the breadth of the title, it must be understood that this work reveals only one phase or fragment of the problem and situation that confronts China's millions. In the first place it deals chiefly with but a small part of Central China, where, indeed, millions are involved, but millions that constitute only a minority and a small minority of the Chinese people. A record of happenings in New England and New York eked out by second-hand tales from parts of the south might include millions of Americans and still leave most of America's millions unaccounted for.

Then the work is heartily pro-Revolution and pro-Nationalist. True, it is difficult to see how in the present situation any realist who has China's interest at heart should not support the Nationalists. They are a party with a program rather than a personal faction bent on personal gain, and that is much in their favor. They are apparently succeeding in bringing something resembling unity out of the chaos of recent years, and that is desirable. But the passionate devotees of any cause are apt to be excessive in their demonstrations, and one needs to bear in mind the items on the other side. Thus, a correspondent in Peking, a man of thirty years' experience in China and wide acquaintance, one of the original members and for years the only foreign member of the old China Liberal Association that had so much to do with the overthrow of the Manchus, writes under date of 7 February:

> They (the foreign press) never publish the Chinese government items—no, they live far off in an idealistic world on a shelf far raised above the dust of the market places—so they don't mention the 874,000 families burnt up in Kuangtung alone last year by the Communists, nor do they speak of the 1,516,000 people ruined in Hunan by the same.

Miss Strong speaks of the fanatical persecution of some of the young revolutionists, such as the very radical Miss Wang Su-chun, but fanaticism of these very revolutionists must be reckoned with too. Thus, the same friend in Peking wrote not long ago:

> I wish you could see my old pals, decent old farmers awalking clad in their best long cloth coats amid a shrieking mob of "students" slashing it to pieces, telling him he is a reactionary because he wears the *Mandarin* and not Sun Yat Sen's coat; and yet I knew Sun . . . and he was the mildest and the quietest and most tolerant.

Nor is the revolution of the Nationalists the only revolution of importance in China now. They are doing much for popular education, but for a number of years the Mass Education Movement under the able direction of Mr. James Y. C. Yen, its founder, has been quietly, peacefully and irresistibly acquainting the farmers with a selected vocabulary of the national language and providing them with informative and liberal literature in this vocabulary. We have known 5,000 students to graduate from the classes held during a single session of three months in one small district of Chihli province, and each of these graduates was in turn the actual or potential teacher of many others not formally enrolled. Of course when a few hundred thousands or even millions have learned to read the percentage of illiteracy in China will not have been sensationally reduced, but the movement is one of the most significantly revolutionary in the process of modernizing China.

For China is being modernized. It is useless for the sentimental to discuss the desirability of modernization, for whether desirable or not it is a fact in the process of accomplishment. But China modernized will not be China Europeanized. She has been invaded before by both foreign peoples and foreign doctrines and the sinicizing of the foreign has always been much more apparent than the foreignizing of the Chinese. A new China is rising to be a worthy and no doubt a filial offspring of old China, and the limit of the rise is unpredictable. Every document that gives clear and competent data on any detail of the struggle is significant to the internationally minded, and Miss Strong's book is such a document.

BENJAMIN F. MARCH, JR.

*"China's Millions," by Anna Louise Strong. New York, Coward-McCann, 1928. Page 413. $4.00.

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

AMERICAN MINISTER TO CHINA CONFIRMS HORRIBLE FAMINE CONDITIONS

The terrible famine which the Chinese Government and foreign observers have estimated will bring destitution to a total of 20,000,000 men, women and children by Spring, and which has already caused thousands of deaths, is the subject of an official cablegram to the Department of State from the American Minister to China, the Hon. John Van A. MacMurray.

This information has just been received from the State Department by China Famine Relief, U. S. A., with national headquarters at 205 East 42nd Street, New York City.

Minister MacMurray, according to Stanley K. Hornbeck, chief of the Division of Far Eastern Affairs, describes the famine area regarded as immediately accessible for relief workers and supplies as "somewhat larger" than he had previously anticipated. Mr. MacMurray then gives as "a preliminary estimate" that 4,000,000 of the famine victims can be relieved at this time.

In this estimate, the State Department points out, the minister concurs with the recent estimate of the Peking American Advisory Committee of China Famine Relief, U. S. A. This committee estimated, after a preliminary survey, that 4,000,000 out of the 20,000,000 famine victims in nine provinces of China can be reached and saved but that it is apprehended that "other groups will later come into the urgent category, necessitating a revision upward of our figures."

The same committee, because of the inaccessibility of remote portions of some of the afflicted provinces, felt that at this time relief could not practicably be applied in all sections, but for those now relievable it estimated that $4,000,000 would be needed.

These estimates are those now "accepted without hesitancy" by the American Minister to China.

This is the first estimate regarding famine conditions to come from an official of the American government since that made by President Hoover, who, when Secretary of Commerce, on May 29th, 1928, issued a statement reading:

"The reports of the Department of Commerce indicate a very real famine in China from which several million people are suffering greatly. The American people have never failed to respond to a call for charity in time of need.

"I wish to commend the effort of the China Famine Relief Fund in its attempt to bring this aid to a most unfortunate people, and I trust it will meet with generous support."

Recent cables from the China International Famine Relief Commission in Peking, from missionaries and press correspondents are to the effect that several million people are doomed to death because of the inaccessibility of their homes. Already cannibalism has been reported. In some sections the famine victims are said to be dying in such numbers that it has proved impossible for the survivors to bury all of the bodies.

THE W. I. L. SUMMER SCHOOL

The Hungarian Section has accepted with great pleasure the task of organizing the summer school for 1929. They feel this task an honor as well as a great responsibility. They have already decided on the locality.

On the Danube, near Budapest, is a little settlement called Lepence, and in it is a cottage which has been enlarged to a summer boarding house and week-end resort. This can be had for the school. Lepence is only a half hour's distance from Visegrad, famous in Hungarian history as the residence of King Matthew, the great and just king of the Renaissance. The ruins of the king's famous castle are on top of a mountain proudly overlooking King Solomon's Tower which lies below on the slope of the hill and where the unforunate monarch was imprisoned by his brother.

Lepence as well as Visegrad is surrounded by romantic wood-covered hills and the environs are the favorite excursion of tourists visiting Budapest. It is an all-year-round resort. In winter people come to climb and ski, in summer to boat and bathe. From early spring to late autumn there are communicating trains, steamboats, autobuses and motor cars between Budapest and Lepence. Beyond Visegrad, an hour's distance by motor bus, is the residence of the Hungarian Catholic Archbishop of Esztergom. In Esztergom is the ancient dome of the old cathedral where the Hungarian kings were crowned. The old part of the town and its picturesque surroundings afford many delightful excursions.

The Hungarian Section is now busy securing first rate lecturers among their compatriots who can speak French, German and English, and also with the aid of International Headquarters securing the aid of foreign lecturers. The next number of *Pax* will print a preliminary program of the Summer school so that those who are planning to attend the Prague Congress may also arrange to go to Lepence.

—*Pax International.*

NEGRO EDUCATION

Colleges for Negroes in the United States more than doubled in number, and their enrollment increased six-fold during the last ten years, according to

Correspondence

"Chairs of Peace"

Editor of UNITY:

Sir: The Kellogg Peace Pact is made alive! Shall we not keep it alive—not alone as history, but as a growing and vital force, until the vision of Isaiah is fulfilled,—"They shall learn war no more"?

To this end cannot some one create and endow "chairs of peace" in our colleges—some of them, at least. Many are irretrievably militarized already, alas! Surely the mind of youth ought to be led toward the high endeavor that is peace!

Later, perhaps, may come a Secretary of Peace for the education of *all* the people as to the inner meaning of this agitation for constructive, and not destructive, methods in the settlement of disagreements between peoples. Such a department of the government would keep a finger on the pulse and conscience of the world, interpreting to the public the activities of groups and nations toward the new policy which the Kellogg Treaty epitomizes—the promotion of international and interracial understanding and goodwill.

In the days when war shall be "no more," people will look back with horror unutterable to the period when more than 25 millions of men were sacrificed in four years (and countless others incapacitated) to *no* end save the further militarization of the western world, and more especially, of the United States! The Kellogg Pact is merely one small step; if others do not follow, it were better that it had never happened. (I use the word "happened" advisedly.)

Allston, Mass. (MRS.) CAROLINE TOWNER.

For Cleveland Subscribers

Editor of UNITY:

Perhaps some of the readers of Unity in Cleveland will be interested in knowing that they will have an opportunity to talk with Dr. Lawrence Pearsall Jacks in Cleveland, April 9, 10 and 11. Dr. Jacks, well known as the Editor of the Hibbert Journal and Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, will speak on "Constructive Citizenship," Tuesday April 9, at 12:15. The next day he will have conferences with small groups of persons interested in Adult Education.

Details about the meeting and the conferences can be secured from the office of The Adult Education Association, 1836 Euclid Avenue, Cherry 3608.

CLARENCE O. SENIOR,
Field Secretary.

Cleveland, Ohio

Congratulations

Editor of UNITY:

Herewith my check for another year's subscription. There is no other weekly publication that comes into our home that is as welcome as UNITY. Accept my heartiest congratulations for the splendid spirit of liberality which you are radiating, and I sincerely hope that as time rolls on you may be ever more successful in routing superstitution, prejudice, and ignorance.

HENRY L. PETERSON.

Dodge City, Kansas

a report just issued by the Federal Bureau of Education, after a comprehensive survey of Negro colleges and universities. The report states that in 1916 there were thirty-one Negro institutions offering college work, with an enrollment in their college classes of 2,132. In 1926 there were seventy-seven institutions doing college work, wholly and in part, with a college enrollment of 13,860, a student gain in ten years of 550 per cent. In the latter year, 1,171 degrees were conferred, of which 211 were graduate and professional degrees.

According to the report, the survey revealed "the immediate need of more education, better education, and higher education." Special emphasis is laid on the need of facilities for the training of Negro professional men—physicians, surgeons, dentists, engineers, chemists, technicians, ministers, and teachers. It was found, for example, that there is but one Negro physician in America to each 3,343 of Negro population, as against one white physician to every 535 persons, while the proportion of Negro dentists was only one-third as great as that of physicians.—*Federal Council Bulletin.*

SOME OF THE CHILDREN'S GOVERNORS

(From *The American Child*)

Walter J. Kohler, Governor of Wisconsin, in his message to the state legislature, said: "A comprehensive children's code replacing obsolete present laws and protecting the interests of the child should be enacted by this legislature. An investigation aimed at revising and modernizing the statutes in regard to state aid to dependent children; child placement and adoption; boarding homes and child-caring institutions; illegitimacy; juvenile delinquency, neglect and dependency, and county boards of child welfare, has been made during the last two years by the children's code committee of the Wisconsin Conference of Social Work, whose efforts in behalf of child protection should receive our highest commendation."

(Bulletin of Wisconsin League of Women Voters.)

Governor Allen, of Massachusetts, gave out the following statement pertaining to the significance of Child Labor Day: "The steps which we are now taking in Massachusetts for constructive child labor reform are to insure that children leaving school for work are physically fit for it, and to insure for boys and girls the most practical form of instruction, for education is the best substitute for child labor. In my inaugural address I advocated the advancement of the compulsory school age to fifteen years."

(Boston *Evening Globe.*)

Governor Roosevelt, of New York, declares for a straight 48-hour week for women and children in industry.

(Brooklyn *Citizen.*)

Governor Morgan F. Larson, of New Jersey, says: "The care of the womanhood and childhood of our state is a matter of wise hygiene and I favor a bureau in the Department of Labor to give this matter special study."

(Newark *Star-Eagle.*)

Governor Patterson, of Oregon, in his veto message, objected to any weakening in the present child labor laws of oregon.

(Salem [Ore.] *Statesman.*)

Governor Gardner, of North Carolina, speaking at a banquet held by the North Carolina League of Women Voters, said: "I am president of a mill in this state, the doors of which are open to any of you who wish to survey it. The law in this state permits a 60-hour week. Operatives in this mill work 55 hours weekly, but I am not proud of it."

Governor Emerson, of Wyoming, has appointed Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Wyoming, chairman of a committee on child labor and education.

(Buffalo [Wyo.] *Bulletin.*)

Governor John E. Erickson, of Montana, says: "There are certain defects in our child-labor laws that should be remedied. . . . There should be an eight-hour day, a six-day and 48-hour week for children under 16 in all occupations. The Commissioner of Labor should be given authority to extend the list of dangerous occupations specified."

(Anaconda *Standard.*)

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